

## Message Text

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 2001

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: CH PINT

SUBJ: FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP COMMERATED BY RELEASE OF  
1962 MAO SPEECH

1. SUMMARY. THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MARKED THE FIFTY SEVENTH  
ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING BY PUBLISHING A 1962 SPEECH BY MAO  
TSE-TUNG ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM. THE SPEECH HAS OBVIOUS LESSONS  
FOR THE CURRENT PLITICAL SITUATION: CADRES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO  
FOSTER A SPIRIT OF FREE INQUIRY, BUT FREE INQUIRY SHOULD NOT LEAD  
TO "SECRET FACTIONS". IN ADDITION, PUBLICATION OF THE SPEECH  
SEEMS DESIGNED TO PROJECT FURTHER AN IMAGE OF MAO AS A FALLABLE LEADE  
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WITH HIS LEGACY SUBJECT TO REVISION. IN THE SPEECH, MAO ADMITTED HE  
HAD MADE MISTAKES AND STATED THAT CADRES SHOULD ALWAYS BE WILLING  
TO SUBJECT THEORY TO THE TEST OF REALITY. MAO'S SPEECH, AND OTHER RECEN  
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MEDIA ARTICLES, COME AT A TIME WHEN RUMORS THAT "SOMETHING BIG" IS AB  
OUT  
TOHAPPEN ARE BEGINNING TO CIRCULATE. END SUMMARY.

3. THE JULY 1 ISSUES OF PEOPLE'S DAILY, GUANGMING DAILY, LIBER-  
ATION ARMY DAILY, AND THE JULY ISSUE OF RED FLAG ALL  
CARRY THE TEXT OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S JANUARY 30, 1962 ADDRESS TO THE

ENLARGED CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE. A JULY RED FLAG EDITORIAL STATES THAT RELEASE OF THE SPEECH IS THE MARK THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY ON JULY 1. CHAIRMAN MAO MADE THE SPEECH TO MORE THAN 7000 CADRES IN 1962 WHO HAD ASSEMBLED TO DISCUSS THE FAILURE OF THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD AND THE REHABILITATION OF FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER PENG TEH-HUAI. CULTURAL REVOLUTION VILLAINS LIU SHAO-CHI AND PENG CHEN ALSO MADE MAJOR SPEECHES AT THE CONFERENCE. MAO'S SPEECH WAS FIRST MADE AVAILABLE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION WHEN IT APPEARED IN RED GUARD DOCUMENTS.

4. IN THE BROADEST SENSE, THE SPEECH IS A THEORETICAL TREATISE ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM. MAO TOLD HIS AUDIENCE THAT CADRES SHOULD HAVE A FREE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY AND NOT BE AFRAID TO ACCEPT THE CRITICISM OF THE MASSES. HOWEVER, HE ALSO WARNED THAT FREE INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION DOES NOT MEAN THAT CADRES CAN FORM "SECRET FACTIONS" NOR RIDICULE OTHER COMRADES. HE ALSO STATED THAT ALL CADRES, INCLUDING HIMSELF, MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR ACTIONS. IN ADDITION, MAO:

--UNDERScoreD THE ROLE OF EXPERIENCE IN FORMULATING THEORY:  
"LAWS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION MUST PASS THROUGH A PROCESS;  
--STATED THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REMNANTS OF "REACTION-ARY CLASSES" IN CHINA MUST CONTINUE AND WARNED THAT BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS STILL EXIST IN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY;  
--REFERRED TO LIU SHAO-CHI'S REPORT AT THE CONFERENCE FOUR TIMES BUT LIU'S NAME WAS OMITTED FROM THE NEWLY RELEASED TEXT.  
(REFERENCES TO "COMRADE LIU SHAO-CHI" APPEARED IN THE RED GUARD TEXT,  
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HOWEVER).

--GAVE A PESSIMISTIC PREDICTION FOR CHINESE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IN ONE PASSAGE, HE STATED THAT IT IS "IMPOSSIBLE" FOR CHINA TO CATCH UP AND OVERTAKE MOST ADVANCED NATIONS IN LESS THAN 100 YEARS. HE ADDED LATER, HOWEVER, THAT IF CHINA COULD ACHIEVE MODERNIZATION IN A FEW DECADES, THIS WOULD BE A "SPLENDID THING";  
--STATED THAT THE SECURITY SYSTEM IS IN THE HANDS OF "GOOD COMRADES", EVEN THOUGH SECURITY WORK IN SOME AREAS IS IN THE HANDS OF "BAD PEOPLE";  
--WARNED THAT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MUST BE PARAMOUNT IN ALL ACTIVITIES.

5. MAO'S MAIN POINTS APPEAR TO MIRROR THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION. MAO'S WORDS CONSECRATE EFFORTS TO DOWNGARDE MAO AS THE INFALLIBLE LEADER AND REINFORCED MEDIA ARTICLES ARGUING FOR REINTERPRETATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT AS HISTORICAL CONDITIONS CHANGE. IN HIS SPEECH, MAO VIEWED HIMSELF AS FALLIBLE. HE SAID THAT HE, AS PARTY CHAIRMAN, MUST BEAR THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MISTAKES MADE AT THE CENTER ("PLEASE COME AND CRITICIZE ME DAY AND NIGHT")-- A MESSAGE THAT ANY PARTY CHAIRMAN, INCLUDING THE CURRENT ONE,

CAN MAKE MISTAKES AND MUST COME FORWARD AND ADMIT ERRORS.

6. HOWEVER, MAO'S SPEECH HAS ANOTHER IMPORTANT MESSAGE: A BLUNT WARNING ABOUT "SECRET FACTIONS", "REMNANTS OF REACTIONARY CLASSES", AND THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS INSIDE THE COMMUNIST PARTY. OTHER RECENT MEDIA ARTICLES ALSO WARN OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE STILL UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF LIN PIAO AND THE GANG OF FOUR AND POINT TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE POLITBURO MAY HAVE DECIDED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST ONE OR MORE INDIVIDUALS; EITHER REMOVING A SENIOR OFFICIAL(S) FROM HIS POSTS OR EFFECTING A TRANSFER THAT WILL ALTER DOMESTIC POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS. RUMORS ARE CIRCULATING IN THE FOREIGN EXPERTS COMMUNITY HERE THAT "SOMETHING BIG" IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN. ONE EXPERT HAS PREDICTED, BASED ON WHAT HE DESCRIBES AS "INFORMED INFORMATION", THAT A SENIOR OFFICIAL WILL COME UNDER PUBLIC ATTACK. EVEN IF THE PREDICTION DOES NOT COME TRUE, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IS FAR FROM SERENE AND WE WILL MORE THAN LIKELY SEE FURTHER SIGNS OF LEADERSHIP MANEUVERING IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

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## Message Attributes

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